UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Woman of the Future

By Margaret Sanger

Protestant Modernism - *A. Eustace Haydon*

The Ram Mohan Roy Centenary - - *Jabez T. Sunderland and Rabindranath Tagore*

Book Reviews - - - - - - - *Jerome Davis, Robert C. Schaller, Lydia G. Wentworth*

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

A Mother Before a Military Monument

(Reprinted from *World Affairs*)

II

Was it for this I braved a pathless, dark
And chilling void, in travail while the hiss
Of Death grew loud and near; from that abyss
To stumble back, enfolding in the arc
Of love-warm arms an infant life—a spark
I fanned to ruddy glow? Was it for this
I succored childish needs—healed with a kiss
Each wound that left on flesh or pride its mark?

Ah yes, for this I led my stalwart son
In paths of rectitude; abhorring vice
And choosing honor's way, he tossed the draft
That brimmed Youth's cup. Bereft and old, I run
Through War's red ledger—scan the costly price
I paid for laurel wreath and marble shaft!

—Winnie Lynch Rockett.

It Sounds Familiar

Editors are chronic hoarders of press releases, clippings and letters. When one cleans out his desk—about once a year—he often has the feeling that history is being made a little too fast to keep up with it.

A year ago a group of Akron socialists brought to the editor a press release prepared by the party headquarters staff in Chicago. It dealt with the party platform as it was to be expounded by Mr. Norman Thomas at the Akron armory on the night of September 8.

Recently in cleaning out a desk it came to light.

Here are some of the things Mr. Thomas promised:—

That he would "repeal" unemployment.

That he would ask five billion dollars for direct relief of the unemployed.

That he would ask another five billion dollars for financing a public works program.

That he would introduce a compulsory six-hour day and five-day week without reduction in wages.

That he would reorganize industry on a planned basis.

That he would push the principle of public ownership.

All of which has little value except to remind us of a wisecrack made by some unknown wit after

(Continued on page 116)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXII MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1933 Number 7

PRAYER

Who pants and struggles to be free,
Who strives for others' liberty,
Who, failing, still works patiently,
He truly prays.

Who, loving all, dare none despise,
But with the worst can sympathize,
Who for a truth a martyr dies,
He truly prays.

Who, when a truth to him is known,
Embraces it through smile or frown,
Who dares to hold it, though alone,
He truly prays.

In musing strength must come to dare,
Petitions are but empty air,
Brave action is the only prayer,
Thus learn to pray.

—*Annie Besant.*

Let there be no doubt about the character of this rising tide of opposition to the NRA. It is based fundamentally not upon disappointment in the success of the plan, but rather upon a willingness, an eagerness, to take advantage of this disappointment to create and sustain opposition which has existed from the beginning. For American business has never really supported the President. The big industrialists did not denounce the NRA at the start because they did not dare to in the face of popular enthusiasm for the new administration. Furthermore, they were badly frightened some months ago, and glad to snatch at anything which looked like help. But now that the NRA is slowing up, and disappointment is following upon the wildly extravagant promises of General Johnson and his aides, and the people are settling down to a long, hard struggle instead of a merry game, these industrialists see their chance. The more the capitalistic interests have studied this code system, the less they have liked it—and now conditions seem suddenly ripe for them to get up and howl. Which means no real change in the situation, except as those who have been the President's secret enemies from the beginning are now out in the open! Mr. Roosevelt will be wise if he drops some of his amiability and recognizes that he has a fight on his hands.

The administration (says the *New Republic*) must identify its opponents and mobilize the support of those whom it is really trying to benefit. It must leave no doubt as to the specific aims of its warfare, and not shrink from fighting those whom it must fight to achieve these aims.

Mr. Ford is not the only enemy. On the contrary, it is to Mr. Ford's credit that he has refused to practice the hypocrisy of those who, pretending to cooperate, have done everything in their power to break down the Blue Eagle plan, and now, when the initial enthusiasm and early excitement are passing, to destroy it altogether. Incidentally this whole situation is bad as bearing on the Supreme Court menace to the NRA. It has been thought that Judge Hughes and his colleagues would not dare to wreck the administration's program. But here, in the attitude of big business, is perhaps the very support that the Court wants and must have for unfavorable decisions.

Litvinoff, the Russian Commissar, had a wonderful visit in this country. Like Caesar of old, he came, and saw, and conquered. There were no American Legionnaires at the dock to meet him. The Daughters of the American Revolution sent no committees of welcome to greet him and escort him to Washington. But flags were lifted high when he touched these shores. Secretary Hull was at the station to extend official honors when he arrived at the capital, the President received him with gracious dignity and hospitality at the White House. And God still reigns, and the government at Washington still lives! It all makes the performance of the last fifteen years in this country look like such dam-foolishness! Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Hughes—what political idiots they were,—and what essential enemies of America and of the world! The failure of the United States to recognize and deal with Russia all these years must ever rank, we believe, among the supreme instances of pig-headedness in human history. Indeed, why insult the pigs by using their heads as the standard of comparison in this transcendentally stupid business? If Mr. Roosevelt seems to have done a great and wonderful thing in beginning the task of opening up relations with the Soviets, it is only because his action is set against the incredibly inane performances of his predecessors. As a matter of fact, what he has done is nothing more than ordinary commonsense, courtesy, and human decency. Yet is he deserving of all praise! The whole tradition of American statesmanship since the War was against him. A kind of spell had been

cast over the American mind on this Russian question which held it fast in prejudice and fear. Then came this man who dared to break traditions, defy spells, and do the right and wise thing. And lo, there is nobody to say him nay! Sanity has again asserted its power over consummate silliness. Thank God, the "red" mania is over.

There are two great groups of men in this country who will destroy us if they be not curbed. The one group is the American Legion, the Pretorian Guard of modern times. The other groups is the farmers, the *Kulaks* of our republic. In both cases, these groups of utterly selfish Americans have been pampered and petted to the point where they have no other idea than that the nation exists for the express and exclusive purpose of serving their interests. If other interests conflict with theirs, then these former must be sacrificed, that's all. The legionnaires and the farmer must be taken care of, though the heavens fall! The Legion members are a deliberate and wilful gang of plunderers. The U. S. treasury exists only that they may rob it. President Roosevelt faced them fearlessly not long ago, and set up barriers which at the moment they dared not cross. But that man is a simpleton who thinks that the Legion has been dissuaded from resuming its depredations when times get more propitious. If President Roosevelt's popularity and power fade as fast in the next two months as they have in the last two weeks, the Legion will be making demands on Congress in January which will paralyze us all. The President has also fronted the farmers. His rejection of the program of the five governors was one of the bravest acts of his administration. Of course the farmers are in trouble. But some other people are also in trouble, and with less guilt than these farmers who in the wild days of prosperity speculated as madly in land and crops as the Wall Street rogues speculated in stocks. It is true, also, that the AAA has been a flat failure, as it deserved to be. But the NRA is not succeeding any too well. Yet the farmers submitted a program which would have wrecked the nation had it been accepted by the President. What we are coming to is drastic measures, if collapse is not to come again. Especially must predatory groups be curbed if the country is to live. What Soviet Russia did to the *Kulaks* was pretty terrible, but it saved the state.

So Prohibition is still to be with us! Repeal of the 18th Amendment is to bring in not the liberty the "wets" have been prating so much about all these years, but only a new set of prohibitory regulations which lie just inside a complete banning of the traffic. Thus, in many states, state prohibition is to succeed federal prohibition—as though the prohibition principle were all right when South Carolina or Kansas uses it, but all wrong when Washington uses it! In most other states, as in New York, for example, the most rigorous prohibitions are to be placed upon the sale of liquor. Thus, drinking at bars is to be *prohibited;* saloons, or any places for selling liquor without food, are to be *prohibited;* the sale of liquor to minors is to be *prohibited;* the sale of liquor after a certain specified night hour is to be *prohibited.* And so on, and so on —until one wonders, in a kind of dizzy confusion, why such regulations are not carried just a short step further, and the whole business prohibited at one stroke! Surely, the "wet," who believes so fervently in personal liberty, is going to have a hard time of it when he starts out to exercise this liberty. If he gets a drink when he wants it and as he wants it, he will be lucky. Unless, forsooth, the old problem of enforcement arises again! And why not, with a hundred prohibitory regulations of one kind and another to break, and the same old lawless gang of "boozers" on hand to do the breaking? We venture to prophesy that, under such conditions as the above, a bad situation will become promptly worse. If anything in the past has been made perfectly clear, it is that the liquor traffic, in the case of sellers and buyers alike, is absolutely lawless. The "wets" will have their liquor on their own terms, and no other. We shall learn again, as we have learned before, that no restrictive regulations are feasible. There is only one thing to do with this liquor business and that is to ban it completely, and fight it out on that line if takes a century.

Having swept the Lutheran churches into his devouring maw, Herr Hitler is now turning his attention to other and independent churches—the Baptist, Methodist and various Protestant communions which hitherto have been separate from the German state. The dictator's will, of course, is that these churches shall join the hierarchy of Nazi Christianity and thus goose-step to God. The great "advantages" of such a union of sects under the Swastika are of course offered as so much bait. But—to change the figure—the cruel claw is hidden in the silken paw, and every free Protestant in the land knows that it will tear the man, or church, that dares to resist enticement. It will be interesting to see what the so-called independent Protestants will do in the face of this attack upon their spiritual liberties. Before them is the example of the Lutherans who made no surrender to Hitler, but offered stalwart resistance before they were beaten to the ground. It was like a page out of the history of the early Reformation—this recent story of churchmen who remained true to themselves and to their God in the face of the fiercest fanaticism in the world today. Will the German Baptists and Methodists now remember their heritage, as the Lutherans remembered theirs, and remain true to the end? We believe they

will. We have faith that religion, driven to extremity, will not be unfaithful to the heavenly vision. When the tale of terror in Germany is told and all facts are known, we are certain that the record written by Jews, Christians, and pacifists in the dark days of Hitler persecution will match the best that has come to us out of the heroic epochs of the past. We remember the cry of the old soldier in Charles Reade's "The Cloister and the Hearth"—the cry lifted whenever trouble threatened and peril pressed—*"Courage, l'ami. Le diable est mort."*

The one hundredth anniversary of the birth of our American poet, EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN, was not widely celebrated. Few people today perhaps have ever heard Stedman's name, and fewer still have read his works. He was one of those not uncommon authors who write much in the best cultural style of their time, greatly please and edify their contemporaries, and then, with the march of time, pass swiftly into oblivion. For the spark of genius was not in him —the divine touch of inspiration was lacking. Yet Stedman wrote a few poems which will be remembered, even when his name no longer suggests a man or lifts the shadow of a face. For these, if nothing more, his centennial birthday (October 8, 1933) was worthy of commemoration. His "Hand of Lincoln," for example, is an enduring item in the abundant Lincoln literature. This is an august and melancholy piece, simple yet austerely noble, fit tribute to the heroic man it honors. This poem we would name third only to Lowell's "Commemoration Ode" and Markham's "Lincoln." Then there is "Pan in Wall Street," a poem so different as to indicate wide variety of mood and expression in the poet. "Pan" is all gaiety and laughter, a god of "infinite jest." If anything can redeem Wall Street, this piece by Stedman, who was in his day a broker, does it. Other poems of lesser worth might be mentioned, fading away into the mass of the poet's verse which is as commonplace as it is correct. In addition to his own writings, Stedman produced studies in literature which were of prime importance in fostering culture in America. Thus, his two critical works, "Victorian Poets" and "Poets of America," did much to spread abroad a true love and appreciation of the best in literature. His "American Anthology," following the "Victorian Anthology," was a monument of learning which marked the culmination of the classic era of letters in this country. With its date of publication, 1900, came a turn in the tide which stranded Stedman and all his contemporaries, or rather swallowed them up in the new flood of a new age. But his work had its due place, and worthily served its time.

Jottings

It is a wholesome experience, a precious corrective of vanity, to read of the presentation of the Nobel Prizes for 1933 to a list of men no one of whom we ever heard of before.

We have started building our hurricane cellar, and are fabricating a particularly strong and tight lid. We are planning to crawl into the cellar and clamp down the lid the day Congress reassembles in Washington.

We have heard of the difficulty of mixing oil and water. But this seems to us easy as compared with the President's task of mixing higher prices and increased purchasing power.

When all is said and done, it may be the record of history that the one great accomplishment of the NRA was the nation-wide organization of labor as a political factor in American life.

We learn from *World Events,* new "pocket periodical" published at Wilton, Connecticut, by Devere Allen, that six Latin American countries—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay and Uruguay—have signed a treaty "outlawing aggression and prohibiting recognition of territories acquired by force."—European papers please copy.

We are told that, when Litvinoff was being carried up New York harbor in the official reception-boat, he asked the pilot to veer from the course as the Statue of Liberty was passed, that he might have a good look at the sacred image. Was he thinking, we wonder, of what such a monument might mean in Russia?

J. H. H.

The Park in Autumn

(Written in Jackson Park, Chicago)

THE benches, empty, gaze ahead without sight,
The bonfires of dead leaves smoulder, smoke;
The trees are bare, stand lonely as the bare lamp-posts;
The trampled ground is hard, bare ground.

Like chalked skeletons lying forth
Are the thin white lines of the tennis courts,
The net-less posts. No voices of players call.
Dry husks the row-boats, piled without oars; blunt-nosed,
Lie bottom-up, drawn from the wave's last reach.
The fountain is built over with boards, its coffin of winter;
The popcorn booths are boarded like lids on dead eyes.

The gray ice of the conservatory roof no sun can melt;
The sky, too, is gray glass.
Tatters of paper swirl in the gutters, hideously;
The statues are cold. They shiver under the gray clouds.

HELEN HOYT.

Protestant Modernism

Modernism is a characteristic phase of all religions striving to continue vital for human living in a changing world of thought and behavior. Oriental religions are most disturbed because of the disintegration of the orthodox patterns of social behavior. Protestant Christianity, however, has felt the strains of adjustment chiefly in the realm of ideas since Christian fundamentals have been located in truths to be believed. Orthodoxy was expressed not by "I do" but by "I believe." And scientific thinking, like an ambient acid, continuously cut more deeply into inherited beliefs. Defenders of the faith labored heroically to save, or failing that, to reconstruct and re-state the traditional doctrines. During recent years, as the task became increasingly difficult, if not futile, two divergent groups have stood out in clear-cut opposition. First, the brave band who refused the effort of reconciliation, camped within the citadel of orthodoxy and resolved to defend its eternal foundations against all attacks. These are the fundamentalists. Second, the growing number who have learned to live in the universe of science and welcome scientific knowledge, technique and method as instruments for creating a vital embodiment for the age-old religious quest of mankind. These men have been called secularists, humanists, radicals or practical idealists. Between these two groups are the modernists attracted by the values of both positions but unable to feel religiously at home in either.

In general the modernists may be described as men who are emotionally loyal to the old religion and at the same time sensitive to the changing environment of the modern world. They desire to preserve the values of the traditional heritage and at the same time to face the problems of living in a new and altered age. They cherish and defend elements of the inherited faith but not with blind dogmatism. Modernists try to combine loyalty to the past with intelligence, to keep the faith of the fathers in combination with a serious social idealism. It is this effort to face both ways at once that makes their position seem ambiguous and leaves them open to the charge of obscurantism.

They are mediators between two incompatible and irreconcilable positions and consequently satisfy neither side. Orthodox fundamentalism is a consistent system for those who refuse to face modern knowledge and who can and will stay wholly within the logical barricades of orthodoxy. Scientific naturalism carried through consistently on the social and human level also yields a vital religious worldview and a challenging program. This is a matter of either—or; but by the very nature of his task as mediator the modernist cannot choose. He is compelled to say both—and. A compromise between these two positions is the source of the vagueness of modernist thinking. He is accused on the one hand of abandoning the fundamentals of the Christian religion and on the other, of obscurantism, camouflage, rationalizing or at the worst of timidity, muddle-headedness or hypocrisy.

But history will understand the modernist. He is a man in search of a vital religion in an age of radical change. Therefore he cannot rest contented in the safe security of the old dogmas and has found it necessary to discard a great deal of the traditional theological baggage. But also he feels himself to be a trustee of an ancient faith. He is a churchman and responsible for the maintainance of a going concern. Moreover, as minister, he is a shepherd of the people who look to him for leadership through an age of troubled transition. More important, he is really fundamentalist. In heart or head or both he is firmly anchored to some last remnant of the old eternal truth. The number of fundamentals they cling to is one way of classifying the modernists, but, many or few they all cling to some or they would not be modernists. They feel the surge of the great uncharted sea of the modern age stretching out into the unknown future and they thrill to it but not enough to cut their anchor ropes. Like the thoroughgoing fundamentalist they want an ultimate guarantee, a certainty and security which the new world of naturalism seems to deny. They have learned how to evade the challenge of the natural sciences and have not yet realized the more devastating significance of the religious sciences for the inherited faith, nor the way in which these same sciences justify the hopes and ideals of religion though the embodiments of the quest in the past may fail or disappear in the present. Consequently they live in the new age with anchors holding firmly in the old.

Modernists are of many types. There is the institutionalist who feels the importance of carrying creatively into the future the patterns of religious activity inherited from the fathers. Many are Christocentric, bringing all their novel social ideals and programs under the authority of a reinterpreted and glorified Christ. There is the symbolist who would use the church as a means of dramatizing the ideals and hopes of the modern world and uniting the Christian group in a fellowship of consecration to these ideals. Akin to this type is the ritual aesthete who would capture the emotional values of religion in beautiful liturgy and ceremony, using both old and new. There is the mystic who finds assurance of the truth not in intellectual formulas but in immediate experience and can therefore continue to cling to the fundamentals although every dogmatic form of their statement may be destroyed. There is the social idealist or theistic humanist who is interested primarily in human values but feels the necessity of grounding his hopes and justifying his passion by reference to a divine will. All modernists must live in the midst of the maladjustments which torture mankind today and they must, as religious men, do something about them. They differ according to whether they weight the scales on the side of rationalizing the traditional fundamentals or on the side of scientific and practical programs for coming to grips with the human problems of the modern world.

To the sympathetic mind the Christian modernists are not the hopelessly futile folk they sometimes seem to be. They are doing exactly what all the leaders of world religions are attempting to do today. They are building a bridge from the past to the future across the most tempestuous and chaotic period of change the world has ever known. Their difficulty lies in the materials with which they

must work. The old religion was grounded on truth of revelation from a divine source. Church and program of salvation had authority from this transcendent realm. There was a dualism of natural and supernatural, human and divine, spirit and matter. The doctrines, terminology, technique and attitudes of orthodox Christianity were all involved in that view of reality. But educated men of today live in an entirely different universe. The natural, social and religious sciences have undermined every last phase of the inherited way of thinking. To say this is only to say that we have moved from a naive and primitive thought world to a scientific way of understanding our place in the scheme of things. Between the old and the new there is a complete break of continuity. The new does not complete the old; it starts from different premises. The plight of the modernists lies in the fact that they are trying to make the new seem the old in different dress. Their motive is commendable and in all former ages of Christian history it was the method of progress. Our contemporary modernists only continue the work of the reformers of all ages. But in all the eras of the development of religions since the primitive dawn there was never such a cleavage between the new and the old. Categories and modes of thought that have been valid for millennia have become useless today. Modernism played its useful part while the last two generations in Europe and America were becoming accustomed to the change in the intellectual climate; but modernism is not enough for the citizens of the new universe.

The modern age is not likely to be swept into enthusiastic action by a religion infected by compromise and apology, yet the need which modernists feel for cosmic security makes them cling to the compensations of an eroded orthodoxy. Religions of compensation had their roots in a resigned acceptance of the frustation of human hopes in this world. At the same time they embodied the bold refusal of the human spirit to accept ultimate defeat. If earth denied the good life to man then religion dared to believe that the universe in its deeper meaning was on man's side, that God would bring the cosmic drama to a triumphant conclusion and eternity furnish fulfilment of man's noblest dreams. This is still an important note in modernism. Some writers claim that this faith is necessary to save man from sinking into pessimism and despair. Whether a religion that compensates for frustration is the best stimulus to human mastery of the art of living may be doubted. If man must at long last accept defeat, if human intelligence, wisdom and good will should prove inadequate to create a cultural environment in which the good life may be realized, a religion of compensation will undoubtedly emerge, offering an easily acceptable wish-fulfilment. For this the traditional patterns of modernism are inadequate because they even now need defense against corroding doubt.

Most of the difficulties of the modernist flow from his position of mediation and compromise. Since the old truth must be kept and yet cannot be retained in the ancient sense the terminology of the modernist becomes equivocal. His use of terms is obscure. Words do juggler's tricks. Authority, revelation, salvation, sin, immortality, God —all good and meaningful terms in the orthodox faith would require pages of footnotes to save them from obscurantism in modernist usage. And if the footnotes were furnished the faithful would be shocked. In so far as the modernists are really fundamentalists they use the old terms with elements of the traditional authority in them. When the old meaning has completely vanished there is a lack of frankness. Moreover, there is a lack of clarity in thinking and speaking. A religion that is challenging for the leadership of youth in this age will make no headway by a muddled compromise. It is as easy to formulate a religious idealism in clear and meaningful terms today as in any century, but the modernist is handicapped by his anchorage in orthodoxy and his vocabulary of obsolete words.

Use of the traditional terminology is often defended as the only way of communicating a new content to people accustomed to the old religion. There are several fallacies here. In the first place most modern young people would have to have the old terms explained to them. It is a theological illusion to think that laymen generally have any emotional attachment to the old words. More important still, if a message is vital and deals with the values dear to people facing the issues of life it needs no trimmings of medieval phrases to make it significant. Nor is there wisdom in apologetic appeal to an authority which no longer exists. Meanwhile the intellectuals who might be effective in the leadership of modern religion are repelled by what seems like evasion.

The traditional identification of Christianity with truth to be believed accounts in part for the modernist's dilemma. He can neither believe it fully nor can he abandon it. Real religion, however, is always a way of living and Christian people have continued to live in this world however much they may believe about another. Consequently the most significant phase of Christianity today is the return of Christian leaders to a genuine wrestling with the human problems of the actual life of our age. This is the growing point of religion. It is the sure test of the vitality of a religion in an era of change. There are two questions to put to a religious movement. Are the intellectuals who are aware of the change in thinking attracted to it? More important, are the masses of workers, who bear the brunt of the suffering of a maladjusted social order attracted to it? If both of these classes find leadership in a religion it is creative and alive. If these two classes abandon it, it is headed for the historical museum to yield place to a more satisfactory embodiment of man's search for the good life. An evergrowing number of modernists are making this practical, humanistic idealism the heart of their religious message.

Modernism is Christianity in transition. It will be replaced by a religion in thought and action integral to the new age. There is no longer need to rationalize ancient dogmas. They may be appreciated historically and being understood, left as part of the lost past. The distortion of the beautiful symmetry of the old theology by modernist reworking is an artistic error. Anxiety about dying creeds and dying churches is a waste of energy. What is needed is a religious orientation of the social order. This will lead us beyond modernism.

A. Eustace Haydon

Woman of the Future*

Looking back at the long centuries of woman's bondage to man-made religions, customs, laws and creeds, there might be reason for discouragement, for women have been compelled to be all things in nearly every country of the globe—beasts of burden, pack animals, slaves, servants, instruments of pleasure. (Now and then they've even been inspiration!) Everything has been in terms of masculine psychology; everything in terms of the needs of men.

Age after age has shown woman taken from her lofty heights—where previously she was referred to as a Creative Deity, Giver of Life, Divine Mother—and placed on the level of the nurse-maid, permitted to care for man's offspring, allowed to compete with his animals as pack-horses whose honored destiny it was to suffer and to serve.

With this vast reservoir of racial and spiritual energy, why has woman never challenged the supremacy of the male? In the answer to that question lies the problem which confronts us today and which must be solved if we are to evolve upward and onward in the march of civilization.

Christianity was founded on the suppression and sublimation of the sex instinct. Previous forms of religious worship, from prehistoric times, were founded upon the unfathomable, inevitable mystery of sex and its creative function. People were and still are as ignorant and confused about sex as they are about God. We must cast the light of science upon the former in order to understand the latter.

As long as the mental attitude and religious teachings on the basic function of life confuse it with shame and sin, mankind cannot rise to its highest possibilities. Our ecclesiastical fathers have decreed that there were only two states of respectable womanhood open to women—virginity, or motherhood. Sex in any of its manifestations was akin to sin, and for the woman only the bearing of a child sanctioned its expression.

Thus we find that woman's bondage in the past as well as today is based solely on the biological task of child-bearing. Consequently, until that function is under her complete control, woman can never hope to rise to the heights of her own spiritual destiny.

Throughout the centuries it has been the churchmen who have decreed that woman's first and only duty to man and God is child-bearing. Did not Martin Luther assert that women shall bear and bear and bear even though they lose their lives in an endless waste of sacrifice? And today from that great church with its headquarters across the sea in foreign lands, sits a celibate Pontifical Dictator (whose office predicates that he has never known the problems of fatherhood) yet whose voice reaches into the lives of 43,000,000 American women of child-bearing age and forbids Congressmen to liberate scientific knowledge whereby children may be wanted, conceived in marital love, born of the parents' conscious desire and given the heritage of healthy bodies and sound minds!

Why this clerical glorification of breeding? Why this idolatrous urgence of reproduction, a function in which the human race is surpassed, from the point of view of quantity, by the house fly and the fishes of the sea—a function which has blindly plunged the world into chaos and confusion so grave that the future of the whole world is threatened?

Breeding orders to women in the past were:
For the sake of the clan.
For the strength of the tribe.
For the pride of man and family.
For the glory of God and the church.

Now the pleas are for the military strength of the nation and the preservation of peace!

All of it emanates from the classic in Psalm 127:

As arrows are in the hand of a mighty man;
So are children of the youth.
Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them;
They shall not be ashamed,
But they shall speak with the enemies in the gate.

In this we find the suggestion not of *peace,* but of *war.* Men are advised to have sufficient children to hurl at their enemies, just as the militarists of Europe today clamor for an increased population to enlarge their armies. Certainly for people who in spite of world conditions still believe in the possibility of "peace on earth, good will among men," it would be well to refrain from quoting this war appeal to increase the birth rate.

Against this and other much quoted Biblical texts may well be set the following verses from *Ecclesiasticus,* in the Apocrypha (Chap. 16):

Desire not a multitude of unprofitable children, neither delight in ungodly sons.

Though they multiply, rejoice not in them, except the fear of the Lord be with them.

Trust not thou in their life, neither respect their multitude: for one that is just is better than a thousand;

And better it is to die without children, than to have them that are ungodly.

To the pleas of the militarists woman must refuse to listen. She must awaken to the responsibility which is hers as a creative force. She shall become an instrument to a World of Peace. Until this consciousness becomes a reality, all the grandiose schemes for "world improvement" must fail. Birth control is the first sign of an awakening consciousness in mankind. It signals a new moral responsibility, a higher regard for life, not only after birth, but even before life has been conceived. It is the conscious control of the birth-rate by means that prevent conception.

It is truly strange and ironical that the women's movement in the United States has kept itself apart from any cause connected with sex hygiene or sex reform. It is even stranger that it has been silent on the subject of birth control, knowing, as we do, that only because of its practice among women, as the birth-rate among the educated, intelligent, and wealthy indicates, could they have battled for suffrage or any other social or cultural movement during their child-bearing years.

What woman constantly in the condition of pregnancy, or submerged in the daily fears of pregnancy, can compete with man in social or economic efficiency? Where are the women with large families? In the graveyards or in the kitchen slaving to make an inadequate wage feed too many hungry babies.

In England, the Women's Cooperative Guild, a league of more than 75,000 married working women, mostly mothers, were the first to endorse birth control. Practically every liberal and labor group of women in England have followed the Women's Cooperative Guild in an overwhelming endorsement of the prin-

*An address delivered to the World Fellowship of Faiths, in Chicago, September 3, 1933.

ciples and practice of this movement—with the result that more than eighty maternal and child welfare centers, conducted by the Ministry of Health, are including such advice in their instructions to working-class mothers.

In India, in the spring of 1933, the All India Women's Conference passed a resolution in favor of birth control and demanded that the Government should give information to mothers. This Conference represents many millions of enlightened women of India.

In the United States, the first national group of women to endorse this movement was the Jewish Federation of Women.

In many other countries, such as Italy, Ireland, Germany, where militarism of either state or church triumphs, women still count only as breeders.

I want to go on record here and now to the effect that child-bearing and rearing are *not* the end and aim of woman's existence. Nor do I consider the first duty of the young married couple to be "non-stop" perpetuation of their kind. In many cases I regard it as man's *patriotic* duty to refrain from this crime against posterity and world-peace.

Take the case of Japan, and her population policy! According to statistics made public by the Statistical Bureau of the Japanese Cabinet, Japan's population was increased last year by a total of 2,182,743 births—or *four babies a minute,* twenty-four hours a day, day in and day out. Japan is breaking her own record for population increase! The whole crisis in the Far East—so menacing to the peace of the world at large—grows out of this "full speed ahead" cradle competition between Asiatic races. Is it not time for the League of Nations or the World Court to turn on the red traffic light? Japan's determination to find an outlet for this surplus population precipitates the so-called "undeclared war" against the Chinese, the creation of the puppet state of Manchoukuo, the breaking of solemn treaties, the sowing of the seeds of another World War. And yet some people solemnly tell us that Birth Control would not help solve Japan's problems! If this is patriotism, let us have a little less of it.

If this menace of uncontrolled cradle competition screams aloud to us from across the vast Pacific Ocean, the evils of indiscriminate child-bearing are painfully evident to impartial observers at home. While our federal penal code forbids the dissemination of scientific information on contraception, many of our states have been compelled to pass sterilization laws to protect themselves against the perpetuation of the feeble minded and the defective population which threatens to engulf us. Some years ago, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes gave a decision for the United States Supreme Court concerning the case of a feeble-minded woman who was herself the daughter of a feeble-minded inmate and the mother of mentally defective children, which so admirably sums up the whole case of civilization and the future of the race that it should be compulsory reading for all Americans:

> We have seen more than once that the public welfare may call upon the best citizens for their lives. . . .
>
> It is better for all the world, if, instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime, or to let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind. The principle that sustains compulsory vaccination is broad enough to cover cutting Fallopian tubes.
>
> *Three generations of imbeciles are enough.*

If the Supreme Court can hand down this decision concerning compulsory sterilization, what possible judicial or moral case against birth control could be validly sustained? Only the age-old masculine tradition, entrenched in the powers of darkness, in reactionary ecclesiastical authority hell-bent to perpetuate its tyranny in a world in which the light of science is creating a new day for humanity dares still to withhold from the masses of women this benevolent, clean, safe and scientific instrument of their liberation.

Another grave problem (long kept in the dark because of the conspiracy of silence) now forces itself upon the attention of the medical world. This is the problem of abortion.

Women in all lands of every religion and creed are forced to resign themselves to unlimited pregnancies unless they have the proper information in contraception. When this is denied them their only resort is to abortion. Out of fear, because of their misery, poverty and ill health, they seek to evade a motherhood which would bring with it destitution and possible starvation to an unwanted baby.

Medical men are discovering that, if they withhold from the awakened womanhood of the world a proper, safe and dependable means of birth control, they are bound to be confronted by the infinitely more complicated problem of abortion.

As this department of medicine has as yet not been legalized (except in Russia), women who refuse to bring miserable, sickly, feeble-minded offspring into the world are thrust into the channels of quackery where profit is made out of their ignorance and misery. It is the opinion of competent medical observers during the last twenty-five years that there are more criminal abortions performed in this country than in any other country in the world. The national total of abortions has been estimated to top 2,000,000 per year.

All this vast activity is carried on in defiance of laws, penalties, punishments or the possible consequence of death. And this violent and harsh means of freeing herself from undesired pregnancy will continue in the future as it has in the past, for nothing short of contraceptive practice can put an end to the horrors of abortion.

The history of abortion shows that it was opposed by law, by religious canons, by public opinion—and the penalties range all the way from ostracism to imprisonment; yet neither threats of hell nor the infliction of physical punishment has availed. The two million abortions annually in this benighted country testify to that. Women will deceive and dare. They will resist and defy the power of church and state. They will march to the gates of death to gain that freedom from unending child-bearing which the awakened woman demands.

Intricate and complex, I admit, is this whole problem of women's control of her procreative function, but it remains the pivot of a new civilization. A great cosmic mystery lies hidden here: that the union of male and female, a communion that seems so private, so personal, so secret indeed that it can scarcely be spoken of in public, is actually of the most fundamental and public significance for the whole future of the race as well as for the peace of the whole world! In that intimate relationship lies concealed not only the joy or misery of the individuals sharing it, but of their children and the children of their children. Here indeed

are the gates of the body and here are the gates of the soul!

Never in the whole history of this planet has woman's place in the creation of the structure of the future been so important. Today we seem to stand at the end of an era. We witness the bankruptcy and the collapse of man's attempt to conquer the universe—of man's one-sided, womanless battle for supremacy. Man has successfully spanned the oceans, flung railroads and airlines across continents, conquered the air, harnessed the endless torrents of water-power. Through the lenses of his telescope he has explored distant universes, through the lenses of his microscope he has waged war against germ and microbe; with his radio broadcasting he has girdled the globe in the fraction of a second.

Everything has been accomplished in the desire to *unite* peoples and nations and to bring them closer together. Yet because of the ceaseless hordes of human beings ever multiplying and increasing their numbers, we find mankind goaded on to a frenzy of exploitation and war. Before there was a capitalist, there were hungry mouths to feed. In going forth to battle, to destroy, to subjugate other nations and races, he has found himself destroyed and mutilated by his victories.

Thanks to our opponents who keep human beings in ignorance regarding contraception, each day reveals about 50,000 extra babies on earth. For every 100,000 who die between dawn and dawn, 150,000 are born. These new inhabitants who survive daily have contributed to the 330,000,000 which have been added to the world's population since 1920, a horde larger than all India's.

In all these ventures woman has been allowed to march beside him—to serve his physical needs. Man has seemingly succeeded in conquering everything but his own ignorance. My good friend, Dean Inge, has pointed out that "Nothing fails like success," and that is the kind of success we witness today. I am not pleading for the substitution of a woman-made world. For we have had quite enough of exclusively masculine adventure—that is to say, one-sided adventure—enough of romantic destruction, chaos and confusion. Rather do I look forward to a future created by the unified, harmonious endeavor of women and men working together as equals.

But before this can be accomplished the pendulum must swing back to get its balance, and in doing that woman as a creative entity must liberate herself in the constructive work of the world. She must give voice to her *female* longings, her institutions, her wishes and her desires. She must thrust her energies into the laboratory of experience, just as a scientist goes to find the secrets of the unknown in the mystery of experiment.

Thousands, nay, millions of women have in the past sacrificed their lives in devotion to religious creeds. They have abandoned their beauty, interests, education, talents, ambitions, love and motherhood in order to dedicate themselves to their faith. Is it not time that this same force, idealism and devotion be turned to science, to the building of a new civilization? If one thousand women were to offer themselves to science (as millions have uselessly offered themselves to religion) as to the laboratory of life, with their creative and intuitive powers at full speed, we would forge tremendously ahead in human progress.

There would be three purposes in this human laboratory:

First: To give themselves, their bodies and intelligence, to scientific research.

Second: To put their own creative faculties to the development of a science.

Third: To become creative instruments for bringing a new race into being.

In the life of every woman come other women, less fortunate, less enlightened, many of them crushed under the burden of poverty and child-bearing. They are too inarticulate to cry out, too poor to have influence, too weak to demand their liberties. The very fact that they have come into your life gives you a spiritual responsibility toward their emancipation. Sympathy is not enough, palliative emergency help is not enough, philanthropy is not enough—nothing less can you do than help to set them free. Free that they may help themselves! Free that they may grow in wisdom and enlightenment!

Just as the physical sight develops in the body, so shall our spiritual vision unfold as we move upward and onward into that current of life we call consciousness, when we become conscious of the greatest of all responsibilities—that of handing on the precious yet mysterious gift of life.

Only through birth control will women ever gain control of their bodies or develop their souls. Only through knowledge can they ever unlock the great gates to a future in which joy and happiness will prevail. Only through a new consciousness of birth can humanity at large ever extricate itself from the man-made muddle in which it is grounded today.

Instead of a world created by irresponsible hordes in hatred and antagonism, free woman shall guide us into a future created by all-embracing love through the consciousness of birth control.

MARGARET SANGER.

The Ram Mohan Roy Centenary

I

The Centenary of the death of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, which occurred in September, 1933, was celebrated in India on a wide scale. It should not be without notice in America.

This illustrious son of India was indisputably one of the very great men of the modern world. His achievements were remarkable in two directions, namely, in service rendered to the world as a whole and in service to India in particular.

It is unquestionable that he rendered high and lasting service to the world as a scholar. Many scholars affirm that he possesses a better claim than any one else to have been the founder of the important modern Science of Comparative Religion. This alone should insure for him a permanently conspicuous place in history.

He rendered priceless service to India, of three kinds: (1) It is the testimony of the highest authorities that, through his able, scholarly and extensive writings, he gave to the Bengali tongue (the most important language of India) distinctly increased range, versatility, strength and attractiveness, and did much to raise the literary quality and standing of all Bengali

literature. (2) He founded the very important religious and social reform movement known as the Brahmo Somaj, which notwithstanding its somewhat slow growth in numbers so far in its history, has kindled a light in India which cannot be extinguished; has set up an ideal of religion so living, so vital, so in harmony with the best modern thought, and so adapted to India's practical needs today, that the whole religious and social thinking of India must inevitably more and more realize its truth and beauty, feel its uplifting influence, and move in its direction.

(3) It is more and more realized that he gave the initiatory word, the first clear impulse in creating India's modern movement to shake off her bondage to a foreign power, and to become once more free—free to shape her own destiny, to develop her own institutions, to occupy again the great place among the nations which she filled so long, and to render to humanity the high service which her illustrious past and her rich spiritual genius so indisputably fit her to render.

Ram Mohan Roy wrote the great and heroic declaration: "I want to be free, or I don't want to be at all." That was a clarion note, which meant nothing less than the political as well as the spiritual rebirth of his country. The spirit of that note has spread and spread until today all India is feeling the mighty thrill of it.

Such, in a few words, are some of the reasons why his appreciative and admiring countrymen have given to this distinguished scholar and reformer the great title of "The Father of Modern India," and why all India's religious faiths, classes and parties are uniting to celebrate his Centenary.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

II*

Ram Mohan Roy inaugurated the Modern Age in India. He was born at a time when our country, having lost its link with the inmost truths of its being, struggled under a crushing load of unreason, in abject slavery to circumstance. In social usage, in politics, in the realm of religion and art, we had entered the zone of uncreative habit, of decadent tradition, and ceased to exercise our humanity. In this dark gloom of India's degeneration Ram Mohan rose up, a luminous star in the firmament of India's history, with prophetic purity of vision, and unconquerable heroism of soul. He shed radiance all over the land; he rescued us from the penury of self-oblivion. Through the dynamic power of his personality, his uncompromising freedom of the spirit, he vitalized our national being with the urgency of creative endeavor, and launched it into the arduous adventure of realization. He is the great path-maker of this century who has removed ponderous obstacles that impeded our progress at every step, and initiated us into the present era of world-wide co-operation of humanity.

Ram Mohan belongs to the lineage of India's great seers who age after age have appeared in the arena of our history with the message of Eternal Man. India's special genius has been to acknowledge the divine in human affairs, to offer hospitality to all that is imperishable in human civilization, regardless of racial and national divergence. From the early dawn of our history it has been India's privilege and also its problem, as a host, to harmonise the diverse elements of humanity which have inevitably been brought to our midst, to synthesize contrasting cultures in the light of a comprehensive ideal. The stupendous structure of our social system with its intricate arrangement of caste testifies to the vigorous attempt made at an early stage of human civilization to deal with the complexity of our problem, to relegate to every class of our peoples, however wide the cleavage between their levels of culture, a place in a cosmopolitan scheme of society. Ram Mohan's predecessors, Kabir, Nanak, Dadu, and innumerable saints and seers of medieval India, carried on much further Indian's great attempt to evolve a human adjustment of peoples and races; they broke through barriers of social and religious exclusiveness and brought together India's different communities on the genuine basis of spiritual reality. Now that our outworn social usages are yielding rapidly to the stress of an urgent call of unity, when rigid enclosures of caste and creed can no more obstruct the freedom of our fellowship, when India's spiritual need of faith and concord between her different peoples has become imperative and seems to have aroused a new stir of consciousness throughout the land, we must not forget that this emancipation of our manhood has been made possible by the indomitable personality of the great Unifier, Ram Mohan Roy. He paved the path for this reassertion of India's inmost truth of being, her belief in the equality of man in the love of the Supreme Person, who ever dwells in the hearts of all men and unites us in the bond of welfare.

Ram Mohan was the only person in his time, in the whole world of man, to realize completely the significance of the Modern Age. He knew that the ideal of human civilization does not lie in the isolation of independence, but in the brotherhood of interdependence of individuals as well as of nations in all spheres of thought and activity. He applied this principle of humanity with his extraordinary depth of scholarship and natural gift of intuition, to social, literary and religious affairs, never acknowledging limitations of circumstance, never deviating from his purpose lured by distractions of temporal excitement. His attempt was to establish our peoples on the full consciousness of their own cultural personality, to make them comprehend the reality of all that was unique and indestructible in their civilization, and simultaneously, to make them approach other civilizations in the spirit of sympathetic co-operation. With this view in his mind he tackled an amazingly wide range of social, cultural, and religious problems of our country, and through a long life spent in unflagging service to the cause of India's cultural reassertion, brought back the pure stream of India's philosophy to the futility of our immobile and unproductive national existence. In social ethics he was an uncompromising interpreter of the truths of human relationship, tireless in his crusade against social wrongs and superstition, generous in his co-operation with any reformer, both of this country and of outside, who came to our aid in a genuine spirit of comradeship. Unsparingly he devoted himself to the task of rescuing from the debris of India's decadence the true products of its civilization, and to make our people build on them, as the basis, the superstructure of an international culture. Deeply versed in Sanscrit, he revived classical studies, and while he imbued the Bengali literature and language with the rich atmosphere of our classical period, he opened its doors wide to the spirit of the Age, offering access to new words from other languages, and to new ideas. To

*Address delivered in the Senate House, Calcutta University.

every sphere of our national existence he brought the sagacity of a comprehensive vision, the spirit of self-manifestation of the unique in the light of the universal.

Let me hope that in celebrating his Centenary we shall take upon ourselves the task of revealing to our own and contemporaneous civilizations the multi-sided and perfectly balanced personality of this great man. We in this country, however, owe a special responsibility, not only of bringing to light his varied contributions to the Modern Age, but of proving our right of kinship with him by justifying his life, by maintaining in every realm of our national existence the high standard of truth which he set before us. Great men have been acclaimed by humanity by its persecution of them and wilful neglect. We evade our responsibility for those who are immeasurably superior to us by repudiating them, Ram Mohan suffered martyrdom in his time, and paid the price of his greatness. But out of his sufferings, his power of transmuting them to carry on further beneficent activities for the good of humanity, the Modern Age has gained an undying urge of life. If we fail him again in this day of our nation-building, if we do not observe perfect equity of human relationship offering uncompromising fight to all forms and conventions, however ancient they may be in usage, which separate man and man, we shall be pitiful in our failure, and shamed for ever in the history of man. Our futility will be in the measure of the greatness of Ram Mohan Roy. RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

The Study Table

The Social Task of the Protestant Church

Mr. Chaffee has written a stimulating volume* on the social task of the Protestant church. He starts out by showing that religion and economics can never be separated, that sacrificial love always stands as a challenge to the traditional lust for wealth or power. He challenges the necessity of unemployment, of war, and the profit motive. He follows this by showing the duty of the church in the industrial crisis, the technique of preaching the gospel, and the responsibility of the individual Christian. One of the most valuable aspects of the book is the treatment of the history and program of the Labor Temple itself, of which Mr. Chaffee is director and pastor. If every minister could thoughtfully read this volume it should help enormously to increase the social effectiveness of the Christian church.

In spite of the stimulating and challenging appeal which Mr. Chaffee has succeeded in making in these pages, I laid down the volume feeling somewhat dissatisfied. At certain points the volume is somewhat confused and vague. The author declares that the most fundamental cause of the present catastrophic economic breakdown is the development of our machine technique. Men are being displaced by machines. This, it seems to me, is not seeing the situation in its entirety. The machine is of tremendous benefit to mankind. It is only because mankind is using the machine for the purposes of private profit and selfish exploitation that it has caused damage. The capitalistic system itself would seem to be a very much more fundamental cause of our economic breakdown than is the machine technique.

Again the author says that we must have social planning so that the needs of all the people shall be put first. This is excellent, but just what does he mean when we translate planning from the printed page into the social order? On a later page he maintains that little can be accomplished by equality of income, and urges taxation of higher incomes. However, a little bit later he goes on to say that the great industries must be taken over by the state. It seems probable that unless state ownership can succeed in more equitably distributing wealth and so bringing about more equal income, it can have little value. The substantial equality of income is a goal which would probably make for a more equitable social order.

Again the author maintains that the church does not have the responsibility of laying down concrete economic programs. It is rather the task of the church to proclaim righteousness. This may be true, but it is also the task of the church to promote economic righteousness and this means championing definite and specific economic programs. Even in the description of what the Labor Temple itself is doing one cannot help but wonder whether it should not actively try to assist in organizing the workers by doing something more than merely offering free rooms, for instance. If it is the duty of the church to proclaim righteousness, is it not a necessary corollary to help organize a righteous economic order? And does not this involve adequate organization of labor?

The author maintains also that the Christian will not engage in class war any more than he will engage in international war. Here one encounters the difficulty that class war is a term which is very much more vague and indefinite than international war. Very often strikes are classified as class war, but the Christian may at times be called on to participate in strike situations. It cannot be successfully maintained that some element of coercion is not a part of the technique of promoting Christian righteousness.

Again his chapter on the Technique of Preaching the Social Gospel suggests that generally the indirect approach is best. Here again it depends so much on what one means by the indirect approach. Were the parables of Jesus indirect approach? Was his statement that it is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye than it is for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God the indirect approach? It might be argued that we have too much preaching in the United States today which uses the indirect approach.

Again in his final conclusion the author maintains that the minister must not be in a hurry. Here again we are on debatable ground. With eleven million unemployed and the world steadily drifting toward another world war one might raise the question, why not be in a hurry? We do not have an unlimited time to prevent the catastrophe. If the church of God is to take the most effective action it must strike quickly and effectively. It perhaps needs to be in more of a hurry than it has been in the past few decades. Even the author himself in his final conclusion maintains that there is just a chance of averting a costly and bloody revolution in the United States. One would have liked to have seen a more definite and concrete analysis of the responsibility of the church toward the labor move-

*"The Protestant Churches and the Industrial Crisis." By Edmund B. Chaffee. New York: Macmillan, 1933. Pp. xii, 243.

ment and of the definite steps which must be taken by the Protestant church if it is to be saved. The book is a fine example of a sincere attempt by a liberal Protestant churchman to face the industrial crisis of our time. If this book could be made compulsory reading in every adult class in our churches in America Christians generally would face much more of the realities of our social situations than they are now doing.

JEROME DAVIS.

Twilight of the Gods

No one, after viewing Mr. Mowrer's deadly dramatization* of the *"Gotterdamerung"* at present enacting itself in Germany, will believe the recent resurgence of Germany's bygone deities, at the ominous invocation of Adolph Hitler, to be either accident or coincidence—on the contrary, it is pregnant with portentous symbolism, speaking in strophes as sonorous as Spengler's, the downfall of the West. Preoccupation with this somber theme (and all its implications) tends rather to divert attention from the way in which Mr. Mowrer has accomplished his task: perhaps some impression of it can be conveyed by reviewing briefly its purple passages and touching upon some of its more extreme moments.

The curtain rises, then, on the prelude: Chancellor Von Papen's rape of Prussia on July 20, 1932, with the countenance of Von Hindenburg and the encouragement of Von Schleicher. After this harrowing apologue, the dramatist sweeps us back with him to the birth of the German Republic, brought forth and baptized in crimson shame at Versailles. The struggles to survive of this virgin waif, assaulted on one side by Gaelic aggression, and on the other by the seductive insinuations of the Nazis, occupy the remainder of the drama; and we are shown most minutely the Machiavellianism of Hitler, as well as the gradual weakening of the waif (sapped by centuries of Teutonic subservience), until, just as the curtain falls, she is about to throw herself into the Austrian's arms . . . and does afterwards, with the resultant Witches' Sabbath, even now unfolding before an affrighted world.

But all that latter (as he himself would be the first to declare) is beyond the scope of Mr. Mowrer's production, which, for the period that it covers, leaves nothing to be desired. Its cast, as might be expected, is of blood and iron: Hitler himself, and his retinue of intriguing lieutenants, Papen, Schleicher, and their host of generals, diplomats, and industrialists; a chorus of supers, comprising the entire German people; a knot of confused, chaos-driven Jews, apparently doomed to the sacrifice, but anxiously fleeing it; and, last but not least, the slightly sinister specter of Von Hindenburg—*Deus Ex Machina*—who, sometimes willingly, sometimes not, compels the other actors of the cast slowly but surely to contrive the apotheosis of Adolph Hitler. For background there is post-war Germany, a land of trumpets and tumult; while a malign *Zeit Geist* conducts the orchestral accompaniment, wherein all the forces of inferno unite to resound the destruction of a great and kingly people: a savage symphony in which "the scream of eagles, the howl of wolves, the bay of tigers, the roar of lions," mingle with awful rejoicing over this spectacular cosmic catastrophe.

From such a sight we would gladly turn our eyes away, but for the fact that it *is*—that before long, in all probability, we shall have to deal with it—and that, in fine, to regard it without flinching may give us strength, when that time comes, "to know what is right . . . and the fortitude to act in accordance with that knowledge."

ROBERT C. SCHALLER.

*"Germany Puts the Clock Back," by Edgar Ansel Mowrer. Published by Morrow, New York, 1933.

What Price Patriotism?

Nobody is encouraged to inquire what goes on inside an armament factory. Armament making is as completely secret as anything in the modern world. From the secret collection of orders by secret agents disbursing secret bribes to the secret loading of steamers bound for secret destinations, the entire arms manufacture and traffic is mysterious and impenetrable.

Thus the opening paragraph of this pamphlet,† which is a companion to the one published a year ago entitled "The Secret International." The new one follows the line of the former in exposing the vicious intrigues and lawlessness of the armament and munitions industries. Its intention is well indicated by the sub-title on the cover, "Exposure of the War Machine."

The astounding revelations made in this brochure are fully as shocking to the upright mind as those in the former one and indicate that even greater activity in armament production has been carried on during the intervening period. It goes without saying that every intelligent adult should read this booklet and ascertain for himself the enormous extent of the work so steadily and relentlessly continued by this interlocking world-wide racket by which a handful of directors and owners of these deadly industries in different lands are heaping up riches at the expense of the toiling, taxpaying masses. A few more quotations will give a far better idea of the scope and value of this publication than could be realized by explanation or description. The facts are unbelievable, though true!

We now bring into the open the story of the steady re-arming of Europe at the behest of Patriotism Ltd., through the two years in which the disarmament conference has been in session.

We tell how Germany is re-arming; of the astonishing arms scandal in Roumania; of the growth of inter-national gun-running; of the perfecting of warlike preparations in our own country; of the prostitution of science to the art of mass murder; we give adequate proof of the big profits being made by the arms octopus whose tentacles are spread out to the ends of the earth. In an appendix, we recall the story of Briey, a war-time interlude in the history of Patriotism Ltd., which cannot be repeated too often in these days. . . .

Economic crisis is reflected in a competition in armaments already proceeding apace, in military alliances, and, generally speaking, in increasing preparations for the war which they make inevitable. . . .

To Patriotism Ltd. it is all an international racket in which the armament makers are the chief racketeers and big profits the prize of setting one nation against another. We have never maintained that the private manufacture of arms by itself is the cause of wars. Its very existence depends upon maintaining those nationalistic and patriotic fervours which have been so effectively capitalized.

So much for the Introduction. Chapter I goes on to disclose facts about The New German Air Force; A Propaganda Air Raid; The Pocket Navy; the Masked Soldier—under which the statement is made that "The German people are being systematically turned into an armed nation." In this chapter is a sec-

† "Patriotism Ltd." Published by Union of Democratic Control, London, England.

tion devoted to the disclosure of how the key position in the present administration is held by Thyssen, one of the greatest forces behind Hitler, the great iron magnate of the Ruhr who has been cooperating with the Hitler Government. Thyssen has generously supported Hitler's party with money and advice since 1927.

Subsequent chapters are entitled: Gun-Running in Central Europe; The Skoda Scandal; Perfecting Death; The Science of Murder; The Proof of the Profits; and each deals factually and convincingly with the various subjects discussed in it. It is no strain on the imagination to realize that these make reading of the most absorbing interest! The last named chapter tells of secret sales and the immense profits received by Vickers-Armstrongs in England, Schneider in France and Skoda in Czecho-Slovakia. The conditions in the Far East are discussed and astonishing facts disclosed regarding the various factories which have exported arms and munitions to the belligerent countries both in that region and in South America.

Then comes the Conclusion from which I cannot forbear quoting:

> In the preceding chapters we have shown how the world is arming for war; we have described the methods employed by armament manufacturers, their intimate relationships with governments, and the intensified research now being conducted into methods for perfecting the war machine. We have shown how, during a period of almost universal depression, the manufacturers of war materials are enjoying a period of prosperity and planning ahead for still better times to come. We have shown how they have profited from the imperialist wars in the Far East and in South America and from increased preparations for war in Europe. . . .
>
> The most striking and important re-grouping of European nations has followed the triumph of Hitler in Germany. Fascism —the extreme form of organized nationalism—threatens war wherever it develops, and Hitlerism today is a menace to every country on its frontiers. Many people today believe that a preventive war against Germany in the near future before she can become a first-class military nation is a probability.
>
> Such a situation produces an atmosphere ideally suited to the interests of Patriotism Ltd., which under various high-sounding slogans prepares people's minds for war, in the press, on the platform, on the screen, and in the military displays for which 1933 is a record year.

The Appendix concludes the booklet and gives an account of the Briey scandal showing how both French and German arms interests had footholds in each other's countries—thus putting profits far and away beyond the patriotism of which they so blatantly boast.

Little by little certain facts have leaked out which throw light on the methods by which both armies in the World War were kept supplied with the necessary munitions. While France and Germany were fighting to the death, a certain patriotic Frenchman, M. Giraud-Jordan, was keeping in touch with German and Austrian financiers and supplying Germany with materials needed for her munitions supply! "The continuation of the war was made possible by the agreement between German and French arms manufacturers because both sides were able to make colossal profits." Verily, profits have no fatherland! One wonders if those men really have the aspect of human beings!

Everyone who considers himself a patriot should read this extraordinary booklet. Everyone whose ideal of patriotism is endeavoring to safeguard his country's security and insure and enhance its prosperity should acquire the information presented in this remarkable brochure of 64 pages. Then indeed, and not till then, will he know what will enable him to form an opinion clear and unbiased as to the one and only way by which war can be abolished and his land—and others—can secure and maintain prosperity and lasting peace.

Copies of this pamphlet can be obtained from the Union of Democratic Control, 34 Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1, England. Price fourteen cents postpaid. In this country from the War Resisters League, 171 West 12th Street, New York City. Price twenty cents postpaid.

LYDIA G. WENTWORTH.

Brookline, Mass.

Correspondence

The Farm Situation

Editor of UNITY:

The administration is having more difficulty with the farm question than all the others put together and the reason is because it will not "beard the lion in its den" but it dodges the issue incessantly and tries to get by by using every kind of subterfuge.

Put into operation the proposed McNary-Haugen law. This will place the farmer on his feet by giving him a price for his products and would, of course, eliminate all grain exchanges and other combinations of parasites who "weave not neither do they spin"; in other words, perform no service whatsoever to society. These leeches manipulate markets and the farmer is helpless and will remain so if government price fixing is not enacted. It is the hue and cry and fuss the before mentioned parasites will make that the administration is afraid of, which prevents the necessary steps being taken. However, such steps will have to be taken eventually if we are to avoid revolution and a communistic condition afterwards; so this administration or the next can take its choice as we are getting closer to the climax every day.

Furthermore, the equalization fee as provided by the McNary-Haugen bill can be made to take care of all expenses whereas the cost of the method now practiced of paying millions to farmers to destroy crops and animals, which will have to be paid by taxes eventually, is ruinous and most dangerous.

The effort necessary to overcome a depression is just like any other trouble. The first thing to do is to ascertain the fundamental cause and treat that and when that is remedied the rest of the troubles will rectify themselves. If a man has an injured foot of long standing, and which has been subject to dire neglect so that other parts of his body are seriously affected, his doctor would treat the fundamental trouble first and not the other parts to which the trouble had spread. If he did not, one would believe he certainly was confused, to use a mild term. Agriculture is the fundamental industry of the U. S. A. and as long as this thirty per cent of the population are without purchasing power and living in penury the rest of the country will be in sore straits, too.

Lending farmers and others money when they are compelled to operate at a loss is only putting them and the rest of industry further in the hole and will bankrupt the country in time as, of course, the loans will

not and cannot be repaid. Get rid of the combinations that are responsible for the farmers' condition. The trouble is the members of such combinations are some of the richest men of the country and have great financial power and can control v-o-t-e-s, also can and will pay hugely for lobbying and legal talent to unduly influence governmental action.

If the present powers that be do not take the necessary action as indicated in this letter, there is only one answer and you know what this is. This present situation cannot go on indefinitely.

A country that has *too much* food and other essentials for human life and comfort and the inhabitants of such a country are suffering from hunger, lack of proper clothing, etc., and have the will to work, is proof evident that there is something wrong with the operation of the government or else the system of government is all wrong.

C. L. PETERSEN.

St. Louis, Missouri

America's Opportunity

Editor of UNITY:

Our country is just now marking time as regards the settlement of international problems which vitally affect the whole future of civilization. Whatever may be said about our concerning ourselves with European problems, there are two forward steps that the United States alone can take and about which we are grossly negligent. One is the need of demand for repeal of the very unjust and stupid exclusion act by which 189 Japanese are prevented from entering our borders and becoming citizens. Charles E. Hughes when Secretary of State worked manfully against the folly of alienating a proud, sensitive people by proclaiming a race inferiority which cut the Japanese to the heart and has rankled ever since with unfortunate results. Had we not made that blunder and had we been a member of the League of Nations, the situation in the far east would today be very different. Now is the time to begin agitation for action when Congress opens. The public needs education on the whole matter. Psychologic problems are the chief ones today, profoundly affecting economic problems. No peace or prosperity will come until a larger patriotism and less national conceit are attained by those who control legislative action.

The second matter which we alone can deal with is one that might favorably affect the attitude of Latin America at the Montevideo Conference to open in December and deal with the problems of our hemisphere. This is to demilitarize the Mexican border, as in 1817 by the Rush-Bagot agreement we demilitarized over 3,000 miles of Canadian border, since when there has not been the slightest danger that Great Britain would ever attack us. If she were insane enough to attempt it we could walk right across the border and she would be helpless, despite her preponderant navy. Why not remove our forts, our hundreds of officers and about 4,000 soldiers and remove all fear of Mexicans of being overpowered by the colossus of the north? The fact that Mexicans have a different language, are of a different race, and that many are illiterate, presents no cogent objection. I have not the very latest figures but know that for ten years, according to a War Department report, only sixteen Americans were killed on the border while 143 Mexicans were killed. The tactful diplomacy of Ambassador Morrow wrought a marvelous change in our relations between the two countries.

It must be remembered that our own homicide record is the most disgraceful of that in any Christian country. In the states bordering Mexico there have been almost as many as 100 murders to each due to Mexicans. At the time the Rush-Bagot agreement made the Canadian border the safest in the world there was far more hostility between our people and the Canadians than there is today between us and Mexicans. We have wronged Mexico in the past. General Grant, who was a young officer in the Mexican war, declared it "one of the most unjust wars ever fought between a stronger and a weaker people." We took half of Mexico's territory, and paid only about $15,000,000—the price of a modern skyscraper. Our attack on Vera Cruz is now recognized as unnecessary and a blunder. Now is the time to show the world what the pact for renunciation of war means, and that a civilized world must substitute police type of force which does not kill the innocent but compels criminals to go to court. War is the slaughter of innocent conscripts by innocent conscripts. Were there no conscription, wars would be short. Every movement in every land to demilitarize frontiers will mightily help the postponed Disarmament Conference take a stride toward real accomplishment. Though no legal action can be taken until Congress opens, the proposal for repeal of the Exclusion Act and demilitarization of the Mexican border should be presented by voters to their representatives and approval secured to report at Montevideo. Our economic collapse has been no more marked than our lack of foresight, lack of initiative of the masses and inertia regarding civic duty.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Boston, Massachusetts.

Let's Smash Things and Have Prosperity!

Editor of UNITY:

In your issue of October 30, 1933, under the heading "Jottings," the Editor makes this observation:

> A squirrel playing around an electric transformer got caught in the currents, was electrocuted and did damage which will take three weeks' work to repair. Here is a public benefactor! Mobilize the squirrels Mr. President, set them playing around electric plants and end this depression.

This, of course, is intended as a bit of sarcasm. Nevertheless, as long as the present order of wealth distribution prevails, it is sound advice. If, let us say, every generating plant, every transformer, all the transmission lines and the various appliances needed for the distribution of electric current were destroyed, immediately there would be a tremendous demand for labor.

As labor now mainly subsists on the crumbs that fall from the heavy-laden tables of privilege; it is obvious that any act that compels privilege to distribute a portion of its ill-gotten gains is a benefaction to labor. The honest and equitable distribution of wealth would remedy this paradoxical and criminal condition, which can easily be accomplished by allowing the natural laws of distribution to have free play. (See Book IV, "The Science of Political Economy," by Henry George).

CHARLES R. ECKERT.

Beaver, Pennsylvania.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 102)

listening to an impressive speech by a socialist. Asked what he thought of it, he replied:—

"It's all right, but when we are ready for socialism and Republicans and Democrats will give it to us."
—From the Akron (Ohio) *Times Press.*

World Alliance Denounces Ban Against Non-Aryans By Churches of Germany

Representing the 37 national councils of the World Alliance for International Friendship throughout the civilized world, the International Executive Committee of the Alliance has sent to the Protestant General Synod and other synods representing the churches of Germany a formal protest against Germany's ban against ministers and other church officers of non-Aryan birth. A copy of the resolution adopted by the Committee at its meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria, on September 21, was received today by the New York office of the World Alliance. The resolution follows:

The International Executive Committee of the World Alliance, meeting at Sofia (September 14-21, 1933) taking note of the fact that racial discrimination in any part of the world, whether because of color or on any other grounds, constitutes a great danger to peace and the welfare of humanity, considers necessary an emphatic declaration, in which the super-racial character of the Gospel is avowed.

As members of many churches representing different cultures and coming from many lands, but all united in a common allegiance to our Lord Jesus Christ, we confess with shame our many sins of transgression against our brothers of other races and color. In a feeling of brotherhood and responsibility with all the churches of the world, the Alliance, while recognizing the right of every country to safeguard the integrity of its own national life, is nevertheless deeply concerned by the treatment inflicted upon persons of Jewish origin and connection in Germany.

We especially protest against those measures taken by the state which bear so heavily upon large numbers of the German citizens, and put the Jews into an inferior class of society.

We deplore the fact that the "Aryan Paragraph" has been indorsed and re-enacted by vote of the Prussian General Synod and other synods representing the churches of Germany, and thus by this means serious disabilities have been put upon ministers and church officers, who by chance of birth are non-Aryan.

Against these actions and measures we earnestly protest, believing them to be, in their conception of race and race relations, contrary to the explicit spirit and teaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson of New York, General Secretary of the World Alliance, who is now in Geneva, was asked to present the viewpoint of the churches, as represented by the World Alliance, to the League Assembly, if and when the question of the persecution of the German Jews arises.

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